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through that ceremony. This happens a good many times. It happened with S. and P. not long before S. died. That was about six months ago. P. was S.'s father-in-law. They had been hiding from each other for over forty years. Six months ago they gave each other cigarettes in this way. After that you could see them sitting together talking, just like any other two men. The same thing happened between M. and K.

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Personality conflicts in the avoidance relationship.—In spite of the absolute standards of good will which are supposed to govern the relations between a married man and his affinities, conflicts in interests and in personalities do occur. The wife is in continuous touch with her relatives, and any indignity she suffers at the hands of her husband is immediately known to them. The husband is in an anomalous position until his standing among his wife's kin is assured, for, although he is nominally considered the head of his household, he is subject to the strict scrutiny of his wife's relatives. [592]

Irritations and resentments between affinal relatives sometimes erupt into open hostility: [579]

R. was . . . . always abusing his wife. It led to a fight between him and the woman's stepfather. The stepfather was just like a bulldog. In the fight he bit R.'s finger off. He must have swallowed it, for they never found it. It was a jubilee fight, right on a moonlit night!

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The older participant, the wife's stepfather, had never avoided his opponent. Therefore, the encounter did not involve a violation of the avoidance obligation. But in the heat of anger even that extreme breach of etiquette has been known to take place:

A man has just beaten up his mother-in-law. This man has avoided his mother-in-law and her sister. He has had trouble with his wife and has been separated from her. Now he has tried to get his wife to go on with him again. He went over to her place. Her mother was so angry at him that she came right over to the place where he was. They threw everything to the wind and began fighting. He beat her up. They won't even use polite form any more. They insulted each other and got kicked, so what's the use of polite form now? But this does not mean that the man will not continue to avoid his mother-in-law's sister. It depends on the individuals concerned. [602]

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Of another mother-in-law–son-in-law breach this account was given:

One man had serious trouble with his wife and her family. His mother-in-law helped his wife throw stones at him and drive him out of camp. She saw him that

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on the part of persons between whom restraint has been practiced for some time—an abrupt change of demeanor which most individuals do not care to invite.[5]

THE MARRIED MAN AND HIS BLOOD KIN

The formal obligations of a man to his wife's relatives are explicit and numerous, but he is seldom as isolated from his own relatives and friends as a bare recital of affinal relationships would suggest:

There is the word that means one household or home. If the group of related households is very small, if there is only one, or if there are only two or three dwellings in it, you might call this a household still, for we do not like to use the word "extended family" unless there are as many as five or six houses.

"Extended family" means a group of homes occupied by relatives. At the very least an extended family is a father and mother, their unmarried children, and the families of their married daughters.

Several extended families make up the local group. In most cases it includes families which are connected by marriage, and between whose members friendly relations signified by the term "friends we have become" are in force.

It appears, then, that it is not unusual for families whose members have intermarried to belong to the same local group, and often a married man may expect to have consanguineous relatives as well as affinities in the vicinity. One factor which explains why families united by marriage live in such close proximity is the absence, in general, of any obligation to marry out of the local group.

At our encampment we are really an extended family. My father-in-law is here with his father-in-law. I am here with my father-in-law. If my wife's sister marries, there will be another household. Since the people in such an extended family are all related, all the girls and boys of marriageable age are *'ilah* to each other and can't marry. But a man doesn't have to go far for a wife, for there are many extended families near by from which he can choose a wife. Being in the same local group doesn't prevent a man from marrying someone. There has to be real relationship to prevent marriage.

This does not mean that a mate is always chosen from the same local group. Previous marriages within the local group may make this impossible: "Marriages like this went on between

[5] Yet polite form can be terminated to accommodate the sororate-levirate (see p. 424).

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222 252 262 [251] to meat dishes to form a gravy, or they are made into flour for bread baked in hot ashes. Sunflower seeds and other seeds are often placed with hot coals in a tray basket and "worked around" until they are parched.

824 [221] In the fall when the tule is yellow with pollen, the tops of the plants are cut off, brought to camp, and dried. Then the dry tops are shaken or struck over an outspread buckskin. Pollen is gathered, without special ceremony, from other plants and from trees by shaking them after placing a piece of well-tanned, uncolored [237] buckskin to catch it. Buckskin is always the proper receptacle. It is said that "pollen would go through cloth," but more important is the feeling that "it would be wrong" to use anything but buckskin for pollen bags and containers.

222 462 [221] From early spring to the onset of winter, the woman gathers fruits and vegetables which grow at different elevations and in different areas. She does not keep at this task steadily, for she has many other duties. But she must be ready at the report of a good natural harvest to leave at once for the region where it is. 222 484 592 621 [596] Often it is near by; but many times the site is so far distant, and the work ahead so time-consuming, that the entire household goes with her and sets up a temporary camp. Using this as a base, the husband hunts while his wife gathers the wild crop that has drawn them there. Not infrequently more than one household or an extended family consisting of a number of households temporarily leaves the larger encampment or local group on such an errand. Thus, in order that the woman may obtain the various foods in the order in which they mature, the household remains a mobile unit, ready to detach itself from the local group at short notice and to rejoin this group or another just as easily.

222 While the women are foraging, they are on the lookout for beehives:

[824] Honey is found in the stalks of mescal, sotol, and the narrow-leafed yucca. The bee deposits the honey in the stalk. The bee which does this is a big yellow one. The women search for honey in these stalks. They gather it in the fall. They split the stalk to find it. It's like candy. I used to be great for honey!

Honey is also obtained from a large yellow bee that nests in the ground. To secure this store, the device of allowing the bees to